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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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COUNTRY	Rumania	REPORT NO.	
SUBJECT	Political Attitudes and Resistance	DATE DISTR.	23 February 1955
		NO. OF PAGES	5
DATE OF INFO.		REQUIREMENT NO.	
PLACE ACQUIRED		REFERENCES	
DATE ACQUIRED			

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Governmental Restrictions

1. Although it was impossible to describe the effect that each individual governmental restriction had on the general populace, source emphasized that each restriction was "like another log on the fire" and created a stronger dislike for the regime; the end result of all government restrictions and police action created an attitude of suspicion causing fear to express true feelings. The only restrictions on which source felt qualified to speak were the following:

- a. Listening to Western Broadcasts

No restrictions were placed against listening to Western broadcasts; however, imprisonment resulted if anyone was convicted for discussing the contents of a Western broadcast. Over 50 percent of the many persons who had radios listened to VOA, RFE, BBC, and Radio Paris. VOA and RFE were preferred by most because of the personal content of the programs and the extensive world news broadcasting.<sup>1</sup>

Although the political officer aboard SOVROMTRANSPORT ships tried to restrict listening to Western broadcasts, nearly all crew members openly used the radio in the ships' lounges for that

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purpose. During source's duties as a radio telegrapher, he continually scanned the ship's radio for interesting Western broadcasts and had enough confidence in his friends aboard ship to report to them what he had heard.

b. Reading Western Literature

The government restriction against having Western publications in one's possession was strictly enforced. When source bought English-language publications dealing with radio, he was afraid to take them into Rumania and always destroyed these publications before reaching port. The desire for Western publications was very great in Rumania, especially among the intellectual element. Source was able to receive private tutoring from a professor at the University of Bucharest in exchange for the latest information in the fields of electricity and magnetism which source had learned from Western publications.

c. Restrictions on Religion

From observations made in Constanta, the regime did not restrict freedom of worship, although definite restrictions were placed on religious functions such as processions, street caroling, Christmas and Easter festivities outside the church or within the family group. For example, aboard source's ship the crew was forbidden to celebrate Christmas as a group. To satisfy the people's desire for celebrating the holiday period, the regime sponsored and emphasized New Year's celebrations. The Rumanian people attended church regularly and shunned the churches where the priests were known to be favorable to the regime. Because the church was no longer sponsored by the government, the collections received from the people were rather insignificant and barely covered basic church expenses. There had not been any radical change in church attendance since World War II.

Anti-Semitism

2. Source knew of no anti-Semitic policies that had been advocated by the regime; however, immediately after World War II, many Rumanian Government officials in high positions were of Jewish extraction and these officials showed their disdain for Rumanians of other origin by their official conduct and actions. This resulted in the creation of a popular dislike for these officials among the population. Except for the natural dislike the Latin-Rumanians had for Bessarabians (Slavic-Rumanians), source could not indicate any anti-racial or other anti-religious group feelings within Rumania.

Relocation of Individuals and Groups

3. Source knew of only one incident regarding the relocation of individuals. This involved the transfer of about 300-400 people from Constanta to Bicasz (N 46-50, E 25-54). In spring 1953, these individuals reported to the local police and, the same evening, were informed they had to be at the Constanta railroad station early in the morning. These people were those who had relatives in the West or who owned property. Source later heard that they were sent to Bicasz to work on a new hydro-electric plant construction project. In May 1954, source saw two people on the street who he knew had been sent to Bicasz in 1953 and later learned that some of these people had been allowed to return to Constanta but could not recover their homes, property, or work.

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Popular Attitude

4. The usual effort of the individual Rumanian worker to meet his production norm was very passive and farmers were satisfied to harvest only enough for their own needs.
5. When ordered to participate in parades or processions, each individual complied only when he was informed personally and instructed exactly what he had to do during the function. Source was exempt from military service and had very little contact with personnel who had been in the armed forces; however, he stated that, when conversing with crew members who had served in these functions, he received the impression that each one was glad he had met his service requirements and was away from the unpleasantness.
6. Source thought that the best indication of public attitude was reflected in a joke which circulated throughout Constanta prior to his defection: As a result of a UN General Assembly meeting regarding the establishment of a universal military force, it was decided to select the best soldiers of the world to act as cadre. In order to determine which country had the best soldiers, a standard test was devised and supervised by UN members. Each country had to send its best soldier into a pig sty. The soldier who remained the longest was the best. The British soldier lasted five minutes, the French four, the Chinese three, the German two, and the US only one minute. When the USSR sent in its best soldier, the pig ran out after 30 minutes.
7. With the death of Stalin, the Rumanian people believed that many great changes in the policy of the regime would take place; however, very few changes took place which had any influence on the attitudes of the people and they were very disappointed.

Causes of Dissatisfaction

8. The fundamental causes for dissatisfaction among the Rumanian people were: the necessity for working harder and longer for less money, the unimproving living conditions, the insufficiency of living space, and the continued scarcity of foodstuffs and clothing. Prior to World War II, the average Rumanian had four or five suits, whereas now he was thankful to have one work suit and one dress suit. Formerly a three-member family had lived in a three-room apartment; but, since World War II, it took source 1½ years to find a single room to use when he returned from his trips to Constanta. He was able to obtain this room only because he personally knew the former occupant.
9. Other causes for dissatisfaction resulted from the restriction of expression, movement, and the lack of ability to better the individual or his conditions through private enterprise. The day was well-regulated for everyone from early morning to late evening and life was a routine experience without time or means for having personal interests.

Conditions for Open Resistance

10. Source did not believe that the Rumanian people would actively participate in open resistance if the resistance was merely advocated by Western propaganda or supported by Western undercover action. He did believe, however, that open resistance would occur only if it were backed by overt military support on the part of the Western nations.

Resistance by Percentage of the Population

11. Source believed that, under the above condition, about 50 percent of Rumania's population would take part in open resistance against the regime. This figure excluded security forces but included a large

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majority of the army, navy, air force, and civil police. The people had sufficient reason to take forceful action but would not do so for fear of reprisal and the further loss of their limited liberties.

Resistance by Elements of the Population

12. The first elements of the Rumanian population who would respond to Western appeals for the elimination of the regime, would be the farmers, followed by the youth, intellectuals, and the workers. The Rumanian youth would respond because of their individual desire to express themselves without concentrated thinking, the farmers because they had the most to lose, and the intellectuals because they know what they had to gain.

Reliability of Security Forces

13. The security forces and civil police were largely composed of peasants who had no interest in their work or in the Rumanian Government. Nevertheless, it was the consensus that these individuals would take positive action, including the use of physical force, in the event of any riots, uprisings, and anti-regime activities generated internally and without Western aid.

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